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NEW YORK TIMES
26 DECEMBER 1981

Crisis in Poland Part of U.S. Plot, Pravda Charges

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Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Dec. 25 — The Soviet Union today published the most comprehensive charges to date that events in Poland over the last 17 months were part of a long and intricate campaign by the United States to wrest Poland from the Communist camp.

Western diplomats said the 3,600-word Pravda article by Vladimir Bolshakov was less remarkable for its claims than for what it revealed about the Kremlin's insecurity and suspicion.

Mr. Bolshakov described virtually every Polish émigré organization, thousands of Polish-Americans who returned to retire in Poland, all the supplies and donations sent to Solidarity and virtually every contact between the labor union and the West as part of a web spun by the United States Central Intelligence Agency "to undermine the socialist statehood and to create conditions for a counterrevolutionary coup."

Martial Law Not Discussed

Under the headline "On the Interference of the Special Services of the U.S.A. in the Affairs of the P.P.R.," Mr. Bolshakov said the C.I.A. declared a "full-scale secret war" against Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the early 1950's under the code name Red-sox-Redcap. After revolts in Hungary and Czechoslovakia were put down by Soviet forces, the C.I.A. made Poland its prime target, he said.

The article did not discuss Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law on Dec. 13 and referred only in passing to "a number of miscalculations of the leadership in economic and social policy." Rather, Mr. Bolshakov's focus was almost entirely on what he described as the "old plans of imperialism for the restoration of capitalism in Poland, for wresting the country out of the socialist community, above all from the Warsaw treaty organization."

The intent of the article, whose length suggested high-level approval, was apparently to provide authoritative and detailed support for the claim that Poland faced the threat of a coup by C.I.A.-backed foes of Communism among Solidarity's leaders.

The immediate purpose of such a claim was evidently to justify martial law in Poland, but the underlying theme of a plot against the Warsaw Pact suggested that the article could also be used to justify Soviet intervention if it comes.

"The White House did not conceal that the events in Poland were a subject not only of political but also of strategic interest for the U.S.A.," Mr. Bolshakov wrote.

An Attack on the System

He said a special panel set up under Vice President Bush to follow events in Poland had received a special directive to explore ways of aiding "Polish counterrevolutionaries."

The article concluded, "Those who are hatching such aggressive plans and conducting a new crusade against Poland under Dulles' banner of 'rolling back Communism' should be reminded that the socialist community has repulsed lovers of such ventures more than once."

Mr. Bolshakov composed a picture of a concerted attack on Poland's Communist system, manipulated and financed by the C.I.A. and other Western intelligence services and using "well-organized units" of many thousands in Poland and 400 centers outside.

Mr. Bolshakov said the C.I.A.'s campaign to create a "controlled crisis" in Poland led to the establishment of an organization of East European émigrés in 1973 that helped found and finance the dissident Polish organization KOR.

The committees of independent trade unions set up by KOR in Gdansk and Katowice became the nucleus of Solidarity, the article said.

Radio Stations Cited

Throughout this period, Mr. Bolshakov said, KOR acted in concert with other dissident groups backed and financed by Western intelligence services, and the activities of "that whole

antisocialist rabble" were directed by the American radio stations Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. The Voice, Mr. Bolshakov said, broadcast instructions in cipher to the Polish underground.

Mr. Bolshakov described with disapproval the Polish Government's practice of letting Polish-Americans visit and settle in Poland, a policy unthinkable in the Soviet Union, which regards all its own émigrés with suspicion.

"Ten thousand American citizens were resident in Poland in November 1981, among them quite a lot of people who were openly hostile to socialism or agents of the U.S. intelligence services," he said.

Mr. Bolshakov said that by the time Solidarity was formed in August 1980, the "antisocialist" forces had a network able to take control of it quickly.

He continued: "From the very beginning, the U.S. Administration oriented itself to the counterrevolutionary top leaders of 'Solidarity.' This was done evidently in the belief that the seizure of power in Poland by the 'Solidarity' leaders is a matter of the near future."

Pravda went on to enumerate what it called Solidarity's foreign sources of support and funds, including the A.F.L.-C.I.O., linking most organizations with the C.I.A. The 400 centers of support abroad secretly sent several million dollars to Poland, the paper said.